

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

[177] Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and 243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal 439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the [654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part.

[462]
[857] The harvest takes place in November and
[592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was

[251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by
[804] *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from
[261] 15 to 20 *zontles* considers itself happy, since
[231] that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manios (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *cañon-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There
184 the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take
796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatík Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the

[778] prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the
[782] crosses kept in caves belonging to each parish, and in one *bikil mixa* ('small Mass'), which the *cabildos* and *principales* of the

[P 201-B]

241 chin-uch (May 20-June 8), an offering is
 782 made to the supernatural being which
 reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
 [825] tions of the nature of this being. They say
 that uch is the name of a small insect which
 spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache*
 or *zarigüeya* which often destroys the mil-
 pa. The offering, hung at the entrance of
 the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped
 in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an
 ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind
 used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
 241 All objects are minute in size. When the
 782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
 787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere
 becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is
 explained that "the chin-uch burned its
 house," which forecasts a favorable sun for
 development of the milpa. If such a sign
 should not appear on the indicated date or
 at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch*
 (June 9-28), the forecast is ominous and
 indicates that the rains will be excessive,
 greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another *mukul-mixa* is performed in Ox-
 796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
 [184] near the ceremonial center, of which the
 Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of
 the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped
 by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega
 (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those
 of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos
 venerate very much the idol which they call
 Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
 [789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed
 the first days of June, prevents locusts and
 other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
 78 family prayers are said before the household
 cross, to give thanks for the good received
 and to petition the supernatural beings to
 protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
 235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
 [231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
 [437] [p. 202-8]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

- 231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
434 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of
the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months,
then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaugh-
ter them and sell the meat to the Indians.
As may be supposed, in this sort of sym-
biosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often
keep the money from selling pigs to meet
emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools,
and fiestas.

262 Food Habits

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the
core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are
common; every part of the chayote is used—
fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually
boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw
or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-
uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a
wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's
radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul*
and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw
or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem*
(*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro*
Uamal. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add
to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild
tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is
like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use
its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

- 262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*),
which consists of atole or pozole, beans,
chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olcal*) of
the same foods plus a vegetable such as
squash or chayote, and supper (*ue-el x-
malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and
chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
nango, and Pinola, greater contact with La-
dinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P.203-A]

¹⁷⁷
262 ious meats, and canned foods such as
salmon, sardines, and sausages.

- 23] The keeping of bees is not widespread.
[222] The Indians instead take advantage of the
wild honey, which is commonly gathered
during certain parts of the year. Tenango
was the only town where I observed bee-
hives next to the huts. The bees, large and
yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought
from the woods. When a tree is found with
one of these beehives, the section containing
the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the
ends of this section are covered with jicarás,
which are stuck on with clay.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Town and Parajes

- 632 All the communities consist of a town center
621 and a number of settlements, called parajes,
361 which are scattered over the municipio. The
town is the political, religious, and commer-
cial center of the entire community; there
the municipal authorities have their offices,
[563] and the church and shops are located. In
general, the Ladinos reside in the center,
their houses arranged in aligned streets, but
some communities (Chanal, Amatenango,
Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse
to accept Ladinos in the town permanently.
The Indians prefer the parajes, where the
huts are dispersed irregularly.

- 162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands
of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of In-
dians who reside in the town center varies.
In some communities (Chanal, Aguacate-
nango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the
people live in the capital. In Chanal, with
a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside
in the center and so it is a "nucleated town,"
according to Tax's terminology. In contrast,
the most common community is the "vacant
town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517
inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the
center. The least frequent is an interme-
diate type, where some live in the center
and some in the parajes, as typified by
[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
 • [231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
 [415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
 [224] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
 twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just
 outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
 jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
 [411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
 large and small, of a Bachajón family—altogether some forty-four
 different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
 [126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the

small son of the house, and a
 little monkey of a boy, Miguel,
 who accompanied us to run
 errands (fig. 292).

If mud-plastered walls are
 added to this description, you
 have a typical Ocosingo Valley
 house. Change the grass roof
 to palm, it is the kind to be seen
 in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*,
 "Covered Water"), in the
 jungle, our Indians built us a
 trail shelter or hut of the type
 called in Spanish *champa*, and
 in Tzeltal *tutna*, "small house."
 This enabled us to note the man-
 ner of building the frame-work
 and laying on the roof. The
 kind of *champa* built for us,
 with an A-roof and gable ends,



FIG. 292—Bachajón boy guests.

is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by
 the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should
 be *lestce-pákk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could ob-
 serve most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course,
 the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs.
 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three
 meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
 [461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame
 to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later
 only two, working without haste.

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d).

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross



FIG. 301.—Sivacá, Chi. Woman Winding Thread.

stick, *tumin-te*, (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvaige.

The loom, *holél*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her

by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

**holél* is one of a large class of words ending in -*ol*, -*él*, or -*il*, which are of once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tsai-il*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo*. *hol-il* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom.

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[193]

224 The Chief weapon used in hunting is
411 the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

[669] Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *nojara*, made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some
231 curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

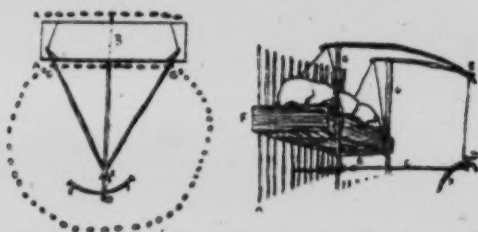


FIG. 308.—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chi.
A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency
231 to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jawbones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul*, are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4, 5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

TENANGO VILLAGE

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FIG. 311—Tenango, Chia. Street Scene.

29 | shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had
[123] such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took
[293] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he
became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of
the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[53] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like
a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the
neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished
blouses are valued very highly.

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FIG. 230.—Tenejapa, Chi. Indians in the street.

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licly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned
speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was
observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours
with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once.
One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and in-
different judge.

114

The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still
lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

When worn outside they nearly
cover the skirts, which are just
knee length. Red sashes with a
yellow stripe from Tapachula,
of the kind worn also around
Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the
waist. Hair is done in two
braids with dark red ribbon, or
tied up in a knot over the fore-
head as at Cancuc.

Men and women alike wear
cheap, gay-coloured necklaces,
usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great
freedom through the town and
lounge in company with the
Ladinos on the broad porch of
the Town Hall. The officials
are distinguished by silver-head-
ed canes with black tassels. In
lieu of a Maestro, they are di-
rectly under the Ladino *Presi-
dente Municipal*, and their dis-
putes are tried by the local
judge. Their lawsuits have a
mediaeval air, carried on pub-

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
 177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
 435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
 [492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five
 helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their fami-
 lies. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of
 corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of
 wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the
 housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This
 lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile
 roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in
 labor.

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	•
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

• Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into
 an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a
 handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does
 not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
 343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
 oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
 [514] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
 [547] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
 [177] ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs
 • [231] cannot scavenge the feces.

New Economic Activities

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b). 464
[434]
[562]

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo'ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Código Agrario*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work. 175
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[641]

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.² The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town. 641
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[647]

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra- 463
[182]
[182]
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2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control. 231
[251]
[443]
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231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
 798
 [844] one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
 meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to
 have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
 [465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by
 watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's
 [843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even ap-
 proach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die.
 The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is
 described below:

*The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he
 arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?"
 "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.*

*"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the
 Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out
 the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"*

*"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomor-
 row."*

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

*The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some
 coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to
 find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind
 legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie
 the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around
 the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The own-
 er's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and
 the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan
 on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present
 with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common
 meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal
 of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink
 liquor are served soda.*

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

New Economic Activities

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dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse.

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Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items.

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Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order.

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NEW ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society.

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Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the

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- 231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sec-
tions, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean
the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle asso-
ciation of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of
the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and
prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the
old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last
twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three
of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which
then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the
cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man
who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos
per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head.
He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.

[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft
exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

New Economic Activities

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Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grosses 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

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626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference
• [23] is the larger number of dogs he keeps to guard his wealth stored in the
form of surplus crops in the caves of his house.

177 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model
178 of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve
433 the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They pro-
434 vide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing de-
621 pendence of consumption choices on external markets is slowly transform-
323 ing the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of
change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an
open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of
accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be
undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of
least resistance. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal il-
lustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in com-
mercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

¹ [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads
over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	Wealth		No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
	Land in hectares	Head of cattle		
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2 1/4	2	4	4
75	2 1/4	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2 1/4	2	3	4
50	1 1/4	2	6	5
55	1 1/4	6	2	6
58	1 1/4		1	2
60	1 1/4		6	6
60	1 1/4	4	4	4
60	1 1/4	8	4	5
80	1 1/4		4	5
88	1 1/4	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

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The Formal Organization of Local Government

171

Age of household head	Wealth		No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
	Land in hectares	Head of cattle		
55	1/4		2	2
55	1/4		2	2
55	1/4	2	2	3
60	1/4		2	3
60	1/4		1	3
60	1/4		4	3
62	1/4	1	2	3
65	1/4		2	3
65	1/4	4	4	6
65	1/4		6	5
75	1/4		5	6
87	1/4		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as *síndico* and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as *síndico*, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and *síndico* (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as *síndico*, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

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The household head enters religious office first as *ni'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is *tatil* of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraría*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as *tatil* of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as *nakawane* in household ceremonials. He

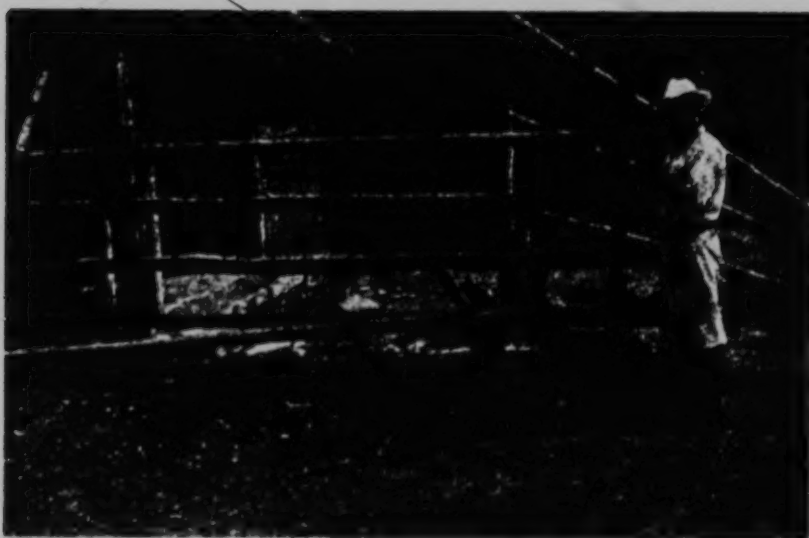
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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.



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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

794 the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereses sat on the
796 visitors' bench. The two former alfereses went before the two newly ap-
526 pointed alfereses and gave an account of what was going to take place, in-
structing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereses entered, they went to the president, say-
ing, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They
then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, ex-
changing a pat'o'tan.

The alfereses went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the ban-
ners by the regidores. The two old alfereses received their banners first.
[178] All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum
players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They
stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and
[533] then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the
plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical in-
struments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereses dis-
mounted and put their banners in the church.

[426] The final day, called Lahinbahl Sk'in, was spent sobering up, putting
things back in order, and returning borrowed items.

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging macho (manly)
style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as
economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the
horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at
high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based
on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are in-
cluded because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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• 231 ⁰⁰⁰animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros, cattle,¹ hogs and chickens.

311

To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1939, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172

Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

[231]
[172]
[648] ¹Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

241
542 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
762 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241
868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work
with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of
ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's
playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if
he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden
of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241
433 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
434 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores
for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes,
candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses
of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is
expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the vil-
lage for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the
sugar cane plantation of Puilitic. (Usually between one and two
weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on
their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge
462 of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also

[231]
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77)

462 aitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultiva-
 463 tion of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These
 464 gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles,
cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans
 and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a
 serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties
 of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some
 medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar.
 Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products
 is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting
 (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs,
 or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income,
 but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra
 cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot,
 or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their
 families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming
 462 their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose
 464 parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas
 (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town
 to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from
 a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or
 widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of
 course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-
 imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring
 [819] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The ladino was then forced to give up.
437

602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.¹

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
(431) simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural imple-
ments. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except
in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for
her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's
father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige
in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her
marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her
interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

[231] ¹The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[421] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[562] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochí de María"
(Maria's pig) means the pig which Maria has the responsibility to
feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill
it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the
head of the household.